

Message Text

SECRET

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USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY
USCINCEUR PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 MBFR VIENNA 0030

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJECT: MBFR: INFORMAL SESSION WITH EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES
FEBRUARY 9, 1977

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN THE FEBRUARY 9, 1977 INFORMAL SESSION OF THE VIENNA TALKS, THE FIRST OF THE 11TH ROUND, THE ALLIES WERE REPRESENTED BY THE NETHERLANDS REP, UK REP AND US DEPREP, AND THE EAST BY SOVIET REPS TARASOV AND SHUSTOV, POLISH REP DABROWA AND CZECHOSLOVAK REP MEISNER.

2. THE SESSION WAS A SHORT ONE. EASTERN REPS ADVANCED STANDARD CRITICISMS OF WESTERN PROPOSALS. POLISH REP DREW ATTENTION TO THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A COMMITMENT NOT TO MAKE FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, BUT TARASOV IN RESPONSE TO A WESTERN QUESTION INDICATED THAT THE EAST WAS NOT SPECIFICALLY SUGGESTING THAT

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THIS PROPOSAL BE DISCUSSED IN THE VIENNA TALKS. SOVIET REP TARASOV SAID THE EAST WAS READY TO BEGIN DISCUSSION OF DATA IN THE NEXT INFORMAL SESSION. HE SAID THE EAST HAD PRECISELY FORMULATED ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS THE WEST HAD POSED TO IT IN DECEMBER 15 INFORMAL SESSION. ALTHOUGH WILLING TO ENTER ON EXAMINATION OF DATA, EASTERN PARTICIPANTS CONTINUED TO CONSIDER THAT THE WORKING OUT OF REDUCTION CONCEPTS WAS THE

MAIN TASK OF THE TALKS AND SHOULD NOT BE SUBORDINATED TO DATA DISCUSSION. TARASOV SUGGESTED THAT EACH INDIVIDUAL QUESTION OR ISSUE PERTAINING TO DATA SHOULD BE JOINTLY EXPLORED AS REGARDS ITS APPLICATION TO BOTH NATO AND WARSAW PACT FORCES, IN ORDER TO PREVENT UNBALANCED FOCUS OF ATTENTION ON THE DATA OF ONE SIDE ALONE. FOR THIS PURPOSE, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS THEY WISHED TO PUT TO WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES SO LATTER COULD PREPARE THEIR REPLIES FOR NEXT INFORMAL.

3. TARASOV MADE STRONG COMPLAINT ABOUT LEAKS IN THE WESTERN PRESS OF DATA PRESENTED BY EASTERN PARTICIPANTS.

4. WESTERN REPS PRESENTED CASE FOR EQUITY OF WESTERN PROPOSAL, DEMONSTRATING INEQUITY OF EASTERN APPROACH, AND STRESSED THE NEED FOR TAKING GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS INTO ACCOUNT IN EVALUATING MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE OF REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS. END SUMMARY.

5. THERE FOLLOW SECTIONS OF REPORT DEALING WITH DATA ISSUES:

36. TARASOV SAID THAT, AS WAS KNOWN, EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD AS FAR BACK AS JUNE 1976 SUBMITTED NUMERICAL DATA ON THE STRENGTH OF THEIR ARMED FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA VALID AS OF 1 JANUARY 1976 INCLUDING A SEPARATE DATA FOR GROUND FORCE MANPOWER. TOWARD THE END OF THE LAST ROUND, THE WESTERN SIDE HAD ALSO PRESENTED DATA VALID AS OF THE SAME DATE, 1 JANUARY 1976. THUS, EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WERE READY

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TO BEGIN DISCUSSION ON DATA AND THEY WERE ALSO PREPARED FOR THIS. IT SHOULD, HOWEVER, BE EMPHASIZED, AND WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES WERE FULLY AWARE OF THE EASTERN VIEWS ON THIS POINT, THAT EASTERN PARTICIPANTS STILL DID NOT CONSIDER DATA EXPLORATION AND EXPLANATION AS A GOAL IN ITSELF, BUT RATHER AS AN ADDITION TO THE EFFORTS OF PARTICIPANTS AIMED AT FINDING A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BASIS FOR THE MUTUAL REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, WHICH WERE THE BASIS FOR THE VIENNA TALKS. THIS MEANT THAT, EVEN AFTER HAVING STARTED ON EXAMINATION OF DATA, EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WOULD CONTINUE TO CONSIDER THE WORKING OUT OF MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE REDUCTION CONCEPTS SHOULD BE THE MAIN TASK OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. SUCH WORK SHOULD REMAIN THE FOCUS OF EFFORTS BY THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS NOT ONLY IN PLENARY SESSIONS BUT IN INFORMAL SESSIONS AS WELL.

37. TARASOV CONTINUED, THIS RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SEARCH FOR A GENERAL REDUCTION SCHEME AND DATA DISCUSSION ALSO SUGGESTED A PATTERN FOR DEALING WITH THE DATA ISSUE. AS EASTERN PARTICIPANTS

SAW IT, EVERY INDIVIDUAL QUESTION PERTAINING TO DATA SHOULD BE JOINTLY EXPLORED, WITH DATA OF BOTH NATO AND WARSAW PACT PARTICIPANTS BEING USED OR EXAMINED. SUCH A PROCEDURE WOULD PERMIT PARTICIPANTS TO AVOID A SITUATION WHERE ONE SIDE WOULD HAVE ANSWERED ALL THE QUESTIONS OF THE OTHR SIDE IMMEDIATELY WHILE THE SECOND SIDE WOULD ANSWER QUESTIONS OF THE FIRST SIDE ONLY AFTERWARD. EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD STUDIED CAREFULLY THE QUESTIONS PUT TO THE EAST BY THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS FOLLOWING THE PRESENTATION OF EASTERN DATA. EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD PRECISELY FORMULATED ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS. HENCE, THEY WERE READY TO START THE DATA DISCUSSION IN THE NEXT INFORMAL SESSION. TO MAKE THE DATA DISCUSSION MORE PRODUCTIVE, EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WISHED TO GIVE WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES AN OPPORTUNITY TO PREPARE ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS WHICH EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD ON WESTERN DATA.

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38. TARASOV STATED THE EASTERN QUESTIONS WERE AS FOLLOWS:

1. WHAT IS THE CRITERION USED BY THE WEST TO ESTIMATE THE ARMED FORCES MANPOWER OF THE WARSAW TREATY DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS, AND WHAT ARE THE GROUNDS FOR THE WEST TO ASSERT THAT THIS MANPOWER EXCEEDS THAT OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE NATO DIRECT PARTICIPANTS BY 150,000?

2. TO WHICH BRANCH OF SERVICE HAS THE MANPOWER OF THE NATIONAL AIR DEFENSE COMMANDS OF POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA BEEN ALLOCATED?

3. HAVE ALL CATEGORIES OF MILITARY PERSONNEL BEEN TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN COUNTING THE MANPOWER OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE NATO DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS, AND WHAT DOES THE WESTERN TERM "UNIFORMED ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL" MEAN?

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4. ARE THE TERRITORIAL FORCES OF THE FRG, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS INCLUDED IN THE TOTALS AND IN THE GROUND FORCE TOTALS, AND ON THE BASIS OF WHICH CRITERION HAVE THEY BEEN COUNTED? (COMMENT: THE FIRST WORD "TOTALS" APPEARS TO REFER TO OVERALL TOTALS).

5. DO THE TOTALS OF NATO COUNTRY ARMED FORCES INCLUDE THE PERSONNEL OF MAJOR NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, CENTRAL MILITARY OFFICES, MILITARY ACADEMIES, SCHOOLS AND TRAINING INSTITUTIONS, AS WELL AS THE PERSONNEL OF NATO ALLIED COMMAND HEADQUARTERS IN THE WESTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPEAN THEATERS, ALLIED AIR FORCE HEADQUARTERS, AND THE SERVICE SUPPORT UNITS OF THOSE HEADQUARTERS?

IN RESPONSE TO WESTERN QUESTIONS, TARASOV SAID "CENTRAL MILITARY OFFICES" IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS ARE SUCH OFFICES AS THOSE CENTRALLY CHARGED WITH THE JOB OF TRANSPORT, MEDICAL SERVICES, OR PORTIONS OF MINISTRIES OF DEFENSE ENTRUSTED WITH SUCH FUNCTIONS. HE ALSO SAID THAT ALL HEADQUARTERS INCLUDING THE JOINT ONES HE HAD MENTIONED WERE IN THE REDUCTION AREA.

6. TO WHICH BRANCH OF SERVICE HAS THE MANPOWER OF TERRITORIAL AIR DEFENSE FORCES OF THE NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM, FRG, AND UK IN CENTRAL EUROPE BEEN ALLOCATED? (COMMENT: THE QUESTION IS APPARENTLY THE COUNTERPART OF THAT ON THE POLES AND CZECHS AND REFERS TO THE ISSUE OF ALLOCATION OF GROUND BASED NATIONAL AIR DEFENSE PERSONNEL TO GROUND OR AIR.)

7. TO WHICH BRANCH OF SERVICE HAS THE MANPOWER OF THE SEMI-STRATEGIC PERSHING MISSILE FORCE OF THE FRG BEEN ALLOCATED?

8. COULD YOU SPECIFY WHAT PERSONNEL OF "OTHER UNIFORMED ORGANIZATINS EQUIPPED WITH WEAPONS" IS NOT INCLUDED IN THE TOTALS SUBMITTED FOR THE MANPOWER OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE NATO DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE REDUCTION AREA?

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39. U.S. DEPREP SAID THE SOVIET REP HAD RAISED THE ISSUE OF PARITY OF TREATMENT FOR EASTERN QUESTIONS AND WESTERN QUESTIONS. HE WISHED IN THIS CONTEXT TO REMIND EASTERN REPS THAT, DURING THE LAST TEN ROUNDS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE WEST HAD ANSWERED NUMEROUS EASTERN QUESTIONS ON HOW THE WEST HAD COMPUTED ITS DATA AND WHO WAS INCLUDED IN THAT DATA, WHAT THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS CALLED COUNTING RULES. THE WEST HAD ANSWERED THESE EASTERN QUESTIONS FREELY, EVEN THOUGH THE ABSENCE OF DATA TABLED BY THE EAST HAD MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE WEST TO ASK SIMILAR QUESTIONS OF THE EAST. THE FACT THAT THE WEST HAD ALREADY BEEN FORTHCOMING WITH ITS ANSWERS SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND IN CONSIDERING THE ISSUE OF PARITY OF TREATMENT RAISED BY THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE.

43. TARASOV SAID THAT, AS A FINAL MATTER, HE WISHED TO RAISE THE ISSUE OF THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE TALKS. EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD IN THE PAST MADE SEVERAL FORMAL STATEMENTS TO WESTERN REPS CONCERNING THE VIOLATION OF THE CONFIDENTIAL MATTER OF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS. UNFORTUNATELY, THE PRACTICE OF LEAKAGE OF INFORMATION ON THE WESTERN SIDE WAS STILL GOING ON. FIRST, THE ATLANTIC NEWS OF DECEMBER HAD PUBLISHED THE DATA WHICH THE WARSAW PACT PARTICIPANTS HAD SUBMITTED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. IN ITS ISSUE OF FEBRUARY 4, LONDON TIMES, IN A DISPATCH FROM VIENNA, HAD ALSO CITED THE FIGURE OF 805,000 FOR THE GROUND FORCES OF THE

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INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

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FROM US REP MBFR

WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION, THE FIGURE THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD SUBMITTED IN THE TALKS. THIRD, THE SEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG OF FEBRUARY 4 HAD CARRIED A DPA DISPATCH FROM VIENNA STATING THE WARSAW PACT REPRESENTATIVES HAD PROVIDED DATA ON THEIR GROUND FORCES OF 805,000. IN THIS CONNECTION, TARASOV WISHED TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT: UNDER CONDITIONS OF CONTINUAL VIOLATION OF THE CONFIDENTIAL NATURE OF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS ON THE WESTERN SIDE, THE SOVIET SIDE FEELS THAT THE SOVIET UNION, TOGETHER WITH OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, HAD THE RIGHT IF THEY DEEMED IT NECESSARY TO PUBLISH THE SAME DATA MATERIAL.

44. NETHERLANDS AND UK REPRESENTATIVES QUESTIONED WHETHER THE WESTERN PUBLICATIONS CITED HAD ACTUALLY
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ATTAINED THEIR INFORMATION FROM WESTERN SOURCES. IT MIGHT HAVE COME FROM EASTERN SOURCES. SOVIET DEPREP SHUSTOV EXPRESSED DOUBTS ABOUT THIS POSSIBILITY. US DEPREP SAID IT WAS CLEAR THERE WAS SOME DOUBT ABOUT SOURCES OF THESE STORIES, BUT, WHATEVER THE SOURCE, LEAKS OF THIS CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION IN THE WESTERN PRESS WERE REGRETTABLE.

COMMENT: WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE SECOND PART OF THE FIRST QUESTION, TO WHICH WE INTEND TO GIVE A REPLY ALONG THE LINES THAT WHEN ALL ACTIVE DUTY WARSAW PACT PERSONNEL ARE COUNTED, THE EAST HAS A SUPERIORITY OF MORE THAN 150,000 MEN, ALL QUESTIONS ASKED BY THE EAST HAVE ALREADY BEEN ANSWERED BY THE WEST IN INFORMAL SESSIONS IN THE COURSE OF THE PAST NEGOTIATIONS ON LINES WHICH FALL WITHIN EXISTING GUIDANCE. AFTER DRAWING ON THESE EARLIER REPLIES TO FORMULATE ANSWERS TO EASTERN QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSING THESE FORMULATIONS WITH THE UK AND FRG, WE WILL REPORT THESE ANSWERS TO WASHINGTON AGENCIES. RESOR

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